Abstract: The present research, though a stand-alone from many points of view, is the second part of our enterprise dealing with the reflection of individual and collective tragedy in Roman epigraphy. While the first part took into consideration individual tragedies, with death occurred by the hand of latrones, bandits or pirates, the current investigation is focused on what we have defined as traces of collective tragedies. By collective tragedies we understand those events which touched a larger sector of the population, resulted especially following attacks of enemies, or wars. Responsible for these acts of violence is especially the ‘other’, which falls in to the category of ‘barbarian’, or enemy. The Dacian wars, the Marcommanic wars, the Parthian expeditions, were some of the military events which lead to large scale acts of violence, and which left epigraphic traces of collective tragedies.

Keywords: war, inscriptions, Roman Empire, conflicts, commemoration.

Sources and Methods
The main sources we have employed are epigraphic, but the nature of the research requires correlation with other types of historical sources, especially literary ones. We will constantly try to connect our epigraphs with attested historical events, in order to place them into context, but also in order to underline how large-scale events are reflected at a personal level. Out of this reason, the first filter we have applied to our sample was chronology; as such, we will be dealing with the inscriptions in a diachronic manner and only within this framework they will be regarded geographically. The spatial distribution is important, but less so than the temporal one, as sometimes we have references to events that have taken place in a different area from the monument’s discovery place. A note that cannot be avoided concerns the uncertain dating of most of our inscriptions. Some of them can be dated within half a century, which offers high accuracy for the undertaken analyses, but many cannot. Thus, we even have datings spanning over two centuries, which is, of course, extremely approximate and the conclusions drawn based on them can only be highly deductive or general.

Most of the discussed monuments are funerary and they refer to barbarians, named or unnamed, in a military context. Of course, in the text

1 VARGA/PÁZSINT 2018.
we will not dwell on every monument, as their high number would make the approach unwieldy and ultimately irrelevant for the reader. We will only present on a descriptive manner certain texts, relevant within event-centred or geographic contexts. Of course, we have to keep in mind that we are working on the available epigraphic sample, as there might be more attested soldiers deceased in military conflict, but whose cause of death was omitted on the epitaph.

One of the notable things that delimitates the current research from its first part are the aggressors. If the first published part of our enterprise brought forth latrones, brigands, thieves, this one focuses on outside barbarians, enemies of the empire, warriors, and respectively on military clashes. Roman literary sources often called rebelled military leaders, from Spartacus to imperial usurpers, latrones, but we have considered this a high-class propaganda trend, not necessarily reflected by ‘minor’, everyday-life, epigraphy. Equally, we do not believe that the latrones are to be associated with a specific ethnic profile or a political agenda; their brigandage was highly likely economical and they are social, marginal, groups intrinsic to the society of the provinces they inhabit. On the other side, the hostes are external menaces, populations outside the Empire’s borders, faced and thus threatening especially in the context of military conflicts.

A section at the end of the paper will be dedicated to a comparison between the texts analysed in the previous article and the current ones. For the sake of uniformity, but also because we are mainly interested with the perception of tragedy at a personal level and its reflection in ‘every-day’ epigraphy, we have not taken into account official monuments, dedications for emperors, governor’s agenda; their brigandage was highly likely economical and to be associated with external menaces, populations outside the Empire’s borders, but we have considered this a high-class propaganda trend, not necessarily reflected by ‘minor’, everyday-life, epigraphy. Equally, we do not believe that the latrones are to be associated with a specific ethnic profile or a political agenda; their brigandage was highly likely economical and they are social, marginal, groups intrinsic to the society of the provinces they inhabit. On the other side, the hostes are external menaces, populations outside the Empire’s borders, faced and thus threatening especially in the context of military conflicts.

**TERMINOLOGY**

The terminology of war violence is rather simple and can be divided in certain word groups. First, we have nouns which denominate the enemies, such as hostes7 and barbares,6 or more specific ones, such as Sarmates,7 Costoboces,6 Getae,6 etc. Sometimes the enemies are these general barbarians, with their ethnic and regional provenience vague, unimportant for the dedicator, or simply implied, as everyone knew who the Roman army was fighting in a given region, at a certain time. On other monuments, they are named by tribe, thus circumscripting the details of the tragedy. Another group of terms contains verbs describing what exactly happened to the dedicator or commemorated one: occido,10 obscio,11 caedo,12 interficio,13 pereo,14 or more generally ἐν πολέμῳ,15 all referring to death in war or violent skirmishes. Desidero,16 dispereo,17 along with λαμβάνον18 present a different type of situation, alluding to what we would nowadays call ‘missing in battle’, but also captured – either as a prisoner, or as an unidentified deceased. In these cases, we are certainly dealing with cenotaphs (monumenta memoriae), monuments which honour memory and serve as sepulchral stones, but in the absence of the actual, physical remains of the deceased.19 Our corresponding corpus includes only a few verse inscriptions, but the text concerning the death in war of the individuals (be they soldiers or civilians) is not rendered as metaphorically as it is for example expressed in Homer: πολέμου στόμα αἰματόντος20 (in the mouth of the bloody war).

An interesting and useful from the point of view of historical analysis stance is when the expedition/stólos, στρατεία (campaign) or the bellum/πόλεμον are explicitly named: bellum Dacicum,21 expedition Dacica, bellum Germanicum,22 expedition Germanica, bellum Sardicensis,23 expedition Naristarum,24 Parthia decidit,27 expedition Parthica,28 etc. It is generally difficult to make the differences between a bellum/πόλεμον and an expedition/stólos, and even more difficult to say if, in epigraphy, we have real and absolute delimitations between the two terms.29 Thus, the steps towards pinpointing an event are often deductive, circumstantial and ultimately subjective, based on adjacent clues rather than following strictly the terminology. On a different side, the opinion that expedition does not necessarily refer to a military incursion, advanced by M. Carrol,30 seems extremely relativizing and groundless in a military history context.

**1ST – 2ND/3RD CENTURIES AD. FROM THE DACIAN WARS TO THE SEVERANS**

For the 1st century AD the evidence is quite scarce, nonetheless we must mention the great funerary monument from Adamclisi,31 which was dedicated to the fortissimi viri (around 148 in number) who [qui ---] pro re p(ublica)
local troops. Nonetheless, the Luguvalium inscription might imply a war that possibly sheltered a reaction by Commodus to push the frontier farther north at the end of this war, as well as an attempt made by Commodus to secure his interest in the area.

From Vindolanda comes another inscription regarding events from the beginning of the century. In Bonn, where a tribe called the ‘Legio I Minervia’ was stationed, another inscription was dedicated to the emperor Titus Annius, a centurion of cohors I Tungorum, who was killed in war (in bello [--] interfectus) and is commemorated by a son and (probably) an heir. This monument is one of the few epigraphic clues indicating a ‘garrison under pressure’ at Vindolanda, as we must assume the centurion died in a border confrontation with the northern tribes.

From Britannia as well, but at a distance of about 50 years in time, when circumstances were different, and about 43 kilometres west, from Lugovium, we have another dedication talking about the border confrontations of the area. This time, a votive monument was dedicated to Hercules as sign of gratitude from the city, instead of being awarded to a Roman general (caesa manu barbarorum). The troop was named Augusta ob virtute; we don’t know anything about the barbarians, their nature or intentions or about the exact place of the clash, but the text, along the previous one, is very relevant for the climate on the Britannia border during the last two decades of the 2nd century. Literary sources affirm that the period was a very strained one in the region. Cassius Dio41 and Historia Augusta42 describe a major war during the period, in which the northern tribes crossed the wall and defeated and killed an unnamed Roman general and his army. The emperor sent Ulpius Marcellus, a former governor of Britannia (177-180), to solve matters, which he eventually did, in 184. Cassius Dio even mentions an attempt made by Commodus to push the frontier farther north at the end of this war, which led to a revolt of the local troops. Nonetheless, the Lugovium inscription might very well refer to Marcellus’s war.43

Many inscriptions can be dated during the second half of the 2nd century AD, a period marked by the Marcomannic wars and unrest of the barbarians bordering the Empire. In Dacia, at the limit of our research (related to the nature of the monument), Lucius Apuleius Marcus repairs the annexes of the temple of Liber Pater, burnt during the barbarian invasion. In Pannonia Inferior, at Intercissa,44 we have an explicit reference to the bellum Germanicum from the epitaph of Marcus Domitius Super, soldier of the legio II Adiutrix, who died in this war. In Aquincum, we have two soldiers from II Adiutrix45 as well, who died in military confrontations during the same period, but no other details are available. Possibly alluding to the events of the same war are two inscriptions from Germania Superior,46 respectively from Britannia,47 mentioning soldiers deceased in the Germanic expedition.

Two epitaphs from Pannonia Superior, Emona48 and Savaria,49 dated during the same period, namely the last few decades of the 2nd century, mention two men killed in battle. The war or the hostes are not explicitly denominated, but it is reasonable to believe that the men were victims of confrontations with the Germanic tribes. In Brigetio, an epitaph dedicated to the soldier of the I Adiutrix45 was killed in expeditio Naristarum (the stone is badly deteriorated, but this reading seems most likely). It is justified to assume that the monument refers to the expedition of 172, when the Roman army defeated the tribes allied with the Marcomanni – the Naristi among them – and Marcus Valerius Maximianus killed Valao, chieftain of the Naristi, with his own hand. Another tombstone from Emona (more precisely from Ig, at the outskirts of the city) probably dates from the same period: Maximus, son of Vibius, was killed by enemies and commemorated by his brother. The interesting detail in this case relates to the writing errors (ostes hoccidit, instead of hostis occidit), which might indicate a relatively poor Latin level and the possible every-day use of the native, local language.

For Greece, its conquest by the Romans lead not only to a change in status, by becoming a Roman province, subject to Rome, also lead to significant transformations from a military perspective. As such, the strong warrior character of the Greek cities dissolved, becoming a ‘cultural reference’,50 by the replacement of the local armies with the Imperial one;51 and the appraisal of war deed was rather reiterating past evidence is scanty also for these, Philippos son of Aristides was killed in war (in bello ---), and this time from Madytos, in Boeotia.52 Another inscription,53 this time from Madytos, comes also from the 1st century AD, and it is dedicated to an unknown equestrian officer who, among other conflicts, took also part in the first Dacian campaign of Domitian.54 The participation of military men in specific wars is mentioned in various inscriptions,55 usually funerary ones, especially if one was donis donatus.

45 CIL XIII 6317.
46 CIL XIII 3553; CIL III 15159.
47 CIL XIII 3154.
48 CIL XIII 3154.
49 AE 1976, 564.
50 AE 1976, 554.
51 CIL XIII 3800.
52 CIL XIII 15159.
53 CIL XIII 3553.
54 RIB 369.
55 CIL XIII 4184.
56 CIL XIII 4310.
57 CIL XIII 3553; CIL III 15159.
58 AE 1956, 124.
59 CIL III 3800.
60 AE 1956, 124.
61 AE 1956, 124.
62 AE 1956, 124.
63 CIL III 3553; CIL III 15159.
64 CIL XIII 6031.
65 CIL XIII 3800.
66 CIL III 3800.
67 CIL III 3800.
68 ŠASIEL KOS 2015, 53.
69 BRÉLAZ 2007, 166.
70 BRÉLAZ 2007, 159.
71 BRÉLAZ 2007, passim.
72 IG IV 1153 = IG IV 1153.
Among other ancient authors, Plutarch reflects the general opinion that once with the Roman rule wars were put to an end, and the great peace was established; however, even though the wars between the cities disappeared, confrontations still existed, as such, Achaea, and the other Greek provinces as well, just like the Latin provinces, were still engaged in various military conflicts, especially connected to invasions of population, but also to acts of piracy and brigandage—these two can be classified both as personal and collective tragedies, even though the epigraphic evidence mostly illustrates the personal side.

Among the invasions of barbarian populations, the invasion of the Costoboci and the invasion of the Herullians are the best epigraphically attested, pointing to collective tragedies. It is worthy to mention that the Costoboci along with the more general term of barbarians are the most commonly pointed at as responsible for personal tragedies, not only collective tragedies.62

For the Greek provinces, the reign of Marcus Aurelius was marked by the invasion of the Costoboci; provinces such as Achaea, Macedonia, Thrace and Moesia Inferior have been touched by these invaders.63 Out of these provinces, Achaea provides the richest epigraphic evidence which records the turbulence, and Eleusis (severely touched by the invasion) certainly stands out, through the dramatism reflected by the three inscriptions which make reference to it.64 The Costoboci occupied Eleusis in 170/171 AD, sacking the temple of Demeter, fact which is recorded also by Aelius Aristeides in his Eleusian Oration.65 The latter of the three inscriptions from Eleusis mentions a hierophant, possibly identified as C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios of Steiria, who had a significant social and political position at that time, and who not only saved the sacred objects of the Mysteries, ‘evading once the unlawful work of the Sarmatians’, but he also initiated Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in 176 AD.66 Two statues were dedicated to him following his intervention (one after his death, and the other after his death). In this context, of the invasion of the Greek territory by the Costoboci, L. Iulius Vehilus Gratus Iulianus (infra)67 was sent to save Achaea from their hands.

Personal tragedy merges with the collective one, as an inscription68 from an unspecified location in Attica tells the story of Τελεσφόρος Εὐκάρπου Μειλήσιος, of 26 years, who fought in the war against the Costoboci, but survived it, dying though afterwards, and leaving behind a child of ten months; Walters supposes that the un lucky war survivor died due to plague.69

Also connected to the invasion of the Costoboci, and which reflects both personal and collective tragedy, is an inscription from Elatea, which was elevated for a former Olympic victor, Μνασίβουλος son of Μνασίβουλος,70 who was granted the title ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων,71 the individual was responsible for organising a levy and fighting the enemy, but dying in battle. In this case, as well as in the following one we deal with situations in which local forces were gathered in order to fight the invaders.

The following inscription,72 from Thespiai, records another levy this time of Thespian νόιοι for a war (ἡ τοῦτος ὀσμῆς ἡμείς καὶ ἐντολής) during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the conflict was also presumed to point to the invasion of the Costoboci,73 however, as it was later on proved, it actually made reference to the recruitment from the Greek cities for the German war,74 explaining why a year or two later, the invasion of the Costoboci was so powerful.75

Reference to the incursion of the Costoboci is made also in an epitaph from Moesia Inferior (AD 169-176), from the epitaph we find that Timo Dassius, decurion of the cohors II Dardanorum, was killed by the Costoboci.76 In this case we are explicitly dealing with the death of a military personnel following military confrontations. From nearby Tropaeum Traiani another individual (Daizi Comozoi, who died at 50 years old) was interfactus a Castabocias, sometime during the second half of the second century AD.77 Still from Tropaeum Traiani, an example of personal tragedy, that of Lucius Fufidius Lucianus, a decurio municipi,78 is relevant to bring forward since he was also killed by the Costoboci, during his duumvirate.

From Macedonia we have inscriptions which stipulate the problems created in the province by various populations, including the Costoboci. Two inscriptions are illustrative: one attests the same L. Iulius Vehilus Gratus Iulianus, procurator Augustorum et praepositus vexillationis per Achaiam et Macedoniam et in Hispanias adversus Castabocas et Mauros rebellus and the other one, this time from Diana Veteranorum in Numidia,79 stipulates the fact that between 175 and 180 a mission was carried on the border between Macedonia and Thrace to fight the Briseai (Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedoniae et Thraceae).

Even though it is connected to the idea of collective

62 PLUTARQUE, De Pythiae oraculis 28: [...] ἀγάπη μὲν ἐνέχει καὶ ἀστέρωμα πολλὴ γὰρ κήρυξα καὶ δημος, πέπεσαν δὲ πόλεμος, καὶ πλάνα καὶ στόχασις οὔκ εἰσιν οὐδὲ ὑπερανάλογα [...]  63 For a brief summary see KOVÁCS 2004, 308.
65 See SCHEIDEL 1990, 493-498 for a discussion on the dating.
66 IG II 3411 = IEleusis 516; IEleusis 494; IG II 3639 = IEleusis 515.
67 They are called Sarmatians: IG II 3411 = IEleusis 516.
68 AELIUS ARISTIDES, Orationes 19. 69 BYRNÉ 2003, 66.
70 CLINTON 2004, 52. He came from a remarkable family. For information on him see the same publication.
71 His rich cursus honorum is attested by several inscriptions. He ended however being sentenced to death, being also touched by damnatio memoriae: CIL XIV 4378.
72 BYRNÉ 2003, 66. 73 VON PREMERSSTEIN 1912, 158.
74 BYRNÉ 1988, 46.
75 His deeds were recorded also in the writings of PAUSANIAS 10.34.5: τὸ δὲ Κοστοβόκων τε τῶν ηρημίων τὸ κατ’ εἰμὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπάρχουν ἀφικέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλατείαν: ἕνα δὲ ἀνήρ Μνασίβουλος λόγχα τοιαύτα ἀνήρ συνάστης καὶ καταφύγεσθαι πολλοῖς τῶν μετάβας ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μίσῃ, οὗτος οὖν Μνασίβουλος ὄρθιος νίκας καὶ ὀλίγους ἀνέκτησε καὶ Ολυμπιαδίων πέμπτα παῦσα γραπτότα τις τικανοῦ ἐξ οἷς τοιαύτα διάλεξα: ὁ δὲ Μνασίβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐν ἐκείνῃ... ἐξ Ἐλατείας δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀδοντὴν τοῦ ὄρθιος Μνασίβουλος φάλακος ἔστησεν άνδριάς. Apparently, a bronze statue was elevated for him in Elatea.
76 For this title see Robert 1929, 13-20.
77 SEG 39, 456 = SEG 42, 432 = SEG 62, 302 = IThespies 37.
78 PLASSART 1932, 731-738.
79 For the German war see among others: BIRLEY 1968, 290-333.
80 Jones 45-48.
81 AE 2005, 1315.
82 AE 1901, 49 = CIL III 14214.2.
83 IDRE II 337 = AE 1964, 252 = ISM IV 49.
84 ILS 1327 = CIL VI 41271 = CIL VI 31856 = AE 1888, 66 = AE 2014, 75 = IDRE I 18; PIΩ I 615.
of barbarian incursions within the province.

Additionally, there is indirect epigraphic proof of collective tragedies through the building of the city walls, as pointed by several inscriptions,97 from the second and third centuries AD: at Kallatis inscriptions attest the reconstruction of towers and of the city walls,98 which took place when Valerius Bradua was governor of Moesia Inferior (AD 172). In this case we know that the work was partially supported by two relatives, the pontarchai Titus Aelius Minucius Athanaion and Titus Aelius Minucius Moschion, and partially through taxes; at Athens the walls are rebuilt, along with towers, after the Herullian invasion, more precisely during the time of Probus (276–282 AD);99 similar initiatives are attested also at Tomis.100

3rd CENTURY AD

This period is the one with most inscriptions, which is somehow understandable, if we take into account the numerous unrests that marked the era, safe – arguably – its first decades. Most of the texts dating from the first half of the century come from the two provinces of Pannonia. From a vicus Teytonis, situated in the area of Aquincum, comes the epitaph of a certain Aurelius (the rest of the name is not readable),101 dead in expeditio Germanica.102 Most probably the monument talks about Caracalla’s Germanic wars.103 Referring to the same war, in Intercisa we have the monument of Aelius Constitutus,104 coming from a military family and a former soldier of legio II Adiutrix, deceased as well in bello Germanica.

In Aelium Cetium (Noricum), we have a different kind of ‘narrative’, alluding to events from the reign of the same emperor, but the epitaph talks not about local confrontations, but of a soldier died afar,105 in expeditio Parthica. The monument, based on context and paleography, seems to be later than Lucius Verus’ Parthian war, thus indicating Caracalla’s expedition or Macrinus’s ulterior fights as the most plausible options.106 Probably at the same war is alluding the dedication for Aelius Flavianus and Aelius Iustianus,107 two soldiers from Aquincum who died in expedition Parthica, as well as Septimius Ingenus’s epitaph from Carnuntum.108 In these cases, where death or disappearance occurred in distant wars, we are almost certainly always dealing with cenotaphs.

Many inscriptions refer to deaths in the Dacian wars from the 240s (beginning in Maximinus’s reign and having a peak in 246-247 AD), which were a series of clashes and attacks by local tribes, resulting in the burning of Dacian

tragedies but on the other way around, we mention the joining of individuals in different military confrontations, in the area of origin or further away. As such, we have a number of inscriptions which attest the death of the soldiers mostly as a result of their dangerous profession. One inscription makes reference to the Spartans involved in the war of Lucius Verus against the Parthians, the epitaph commemorates one of the Spartans who was involved in the battles.84 Besides this we also have from Moesia Inferior the epitaph of an individual named Valerius Valens, defunctus in expeditione Parthica,85 and another individual from Timacum Minus who was interfictus in expeditione Parthica.86 Further on, an honorific inscription from Oescus, dedicated to the primus pilus and princeps ordini coloniae, Titus Aurelius Flavinus, specifies that at some point during his career he fought with the Getai, but important is also the mentioning (ob) res prospere Tyrre gestas,87 which might be connected to the invasions of the barbarians in the northern Greek cities of the Black Sea.88 Probably related to these tensions on the northern shores is also a certain bellum Bosporanum,89 dated sometimes between 210 and 220 AD; an inscription from Preslav, Moesia Inferiors records the fact that a beneficiarius consularis of the Legio I Italica Alexandriana was involved in this war but that he safely returned from it (multis periculis in barbarico liberatus).90

A rather large group of monuments, dated during the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd, comes from Noricum. At Celeia, Mattus Adiectus,91 about whom we know nothing except the fact that he was 40, was killed by the Mattzaris, an otherwise unknown tribe. It is hard to say if we are dealing with a small local tribe, or a misspelling – nonetheless, the second option seems less likely, as the name doesn’t resemble anything else either. The tribe might have been a group of the Iazyges or the Scythians,93 as the etymology seems to be eastern; in Armenia, Ptolemy records a town named Mazara,94 while the personal name Mazarosis is of Iranian origin. Three soldiers from Virumum were also killed during the same interval: Aelius Leonatus and a comrade whose name was not kept were interfecti a barbaris in canabae legionis,94 while Aggaeus,95 hexarchus of the ala, was killed by military life, thus we suppose in a violent manner as well. From the same place, Aurelius Ursus,96 soldier in II Italica, died during a mission; the monument doesn’t say if we are dealing with a far-away war or local confrontations, as we would be inclined to believe. This group of epitaphs indicates, in our opinion, massive confrontation that took place at one point during the Marcomannic wars in Noricum. The death of soldiers in the legionary canabae is the un-doubtable mark

84 IG I, 1, 816.
85 ISM V 185 = CIL III 6189.
86 AE 1905, 163 = IIJug 1312 = IMS III, 2, 33.
87 AE 1900, 155 = ILBulg 18 = AE 1999, 1326 = CIL III 14416 = ILS 7178.
88 According to PEOLESCU 2014, 378.
89 PETOLESCU 2010-2011, 277-279.
91 CIL III 5234.
92 ŠAŠEL KOS 2016, 218.
93 PTOLEMEUS 5, 12.1.
94 CIL III 4850; EHMIG 2013, 135.
95 CIL III 4832.
96 AE 1936, 84.
97 IG II 5199; IG II 5200.
98 ISM II 97; ISM III 98; ISM III 99 = SEG 49, 1016 = SEG 54, 666; ISM III 100 = IGR I 651 – the last two inscriptions make reference to the same construction works.
99 FRANTZ 1988, 10; For the repair of towers: IG II 5201 = SEG 38, 192 = SEG 47, 236.
100 ISM II 21.
102 AE 2004, 1143.
103 HISTORIA AUGUSTA, Caracalla, 5, 6.
104 AE 1910, 138.
105 CIL III 5661.
106 HISTORIA AUGUSTA, Macrinus, 8, 3-4.
107 AE 1941, 10.
108 CIL III 4480
Philip the Arabs taking the cognomen ex virtute of Carpicus and Decius calling himself restitutor Daciarum. Although these might be clues that the confrontations were quite serious, they might be regarded with circumspection, given the emperors’ of the period propagandistic need to stress on any – even if minor – victory over the barbarians. Nonetheless, epigraphy seems to support the gravity of the conflict, as they register a considerable number of deaths in these confrontations: from Intercisa (Pannonia Inferior), Saturninus was desideratus in Dacia and Publius Aelius Proculinus died after a long career at castellum Carorum (un-localized seat of the Carpi, probably the same as the one mentioned by Zosimos), Aurelius Satul from I Adiutrix died in the Dacian war and was commemorated by his family in modern-day Bajna (Pannonia Superior), Aurelius Iustinus from Celeia (Noricum), soldier of the Italica, died in expeditione Dacica, as well as Veponius Quartinus from the same legion, commemorated at Virunum. Dacisci seems to be a rather common name for the Dacians during the period, as it also appears on a monument from Verona. As we can see, important vexillations of troops from the Danubian provinces were mobilized for this series of confrontations.

The period was also marked by confrontations with the Parthians in the East – ulterior to the ones mentioned above. Ingenuus from Timacum Minus (Moesia Superior), soldier of VII Claudia, was one of the victims of the wars waged between 230-270 AD in the east.

In what concerns Moesia Inferior the evidence points mostly, besides the Costoboci, to the barbarians as inflectors, the inscriptions attesting their presence mostly in 2nd and 3rd century AD, while the literary sources point to the beginning of the 1st century AD as being a turbulent period due to barbarian incursions, the following century being represented as relatively calmer due to the Roman intervention; previously the attacks of the Getae, Bessi and Sarmatae were at least more commonly recorded in the literary sources. Their incursions touched civilians and soldiers; from the latter category we have an inscription which mentions a miles legionis from Moesia Inferior (vicus Trullensium) who was deceptus a barbaris. Since the individual was engaged in military life this case is an example of a collective tragedy, the incursion of barbarians, which reflects into a personal tragedy as well. Such evidence is also recorded in a third century inscription from Gytheion (Achaea), which renders poetically an example of battle between Athenians and barbarians (we have no other information on whom exactly where the enemies), some of the Athenians dying in a sea battle under their sword.

As previously mentioned, besides the Costoboci, the Herulians were also at the head of an invasion which touched Greece and especially Athens, and this in the turbulent third century AD. The trajectory which the Herrulians had during the invasion has not been clearly defined, the literary sources pointing to several routes. In 267 AD they sacked Athens, but were chased from the city by P. Herrenius Dezippus; however, from there they went further in the northern Peloponnese. Among the most widespread information rendered by the literary sources concerning this dark episode for Athens is the fact that the books of Athenians were spared due to the fact that these made them focus on something else than war.

**THE END OF THE 3RD CENTURY AD**

While the period is marked by major and constant military confrontations, it is also defined by a dramatic quantitative decrease of the epigraphic sources, as the epigraphic habit became irrelevant. Thus, we only have a few inscriptions from this interval mentioning direct confrontations with the barbarians. Details on the events that lead to death are even rarer. Aurelius Victor from Celeia, soldier of II Italica, was bello desideratus hoste Gatica; given the period, it is possible that the man fought in Cniva’s Gothic tribes. Gratius Artilleus and Clodius Glamosus, centuriones of the legion VIII Augusta, died in a war waged around Serdica (bellum Serdicensis) and are commemorated by fellow centurions in Sirmium. The occurrence which led to the death of the two are probably to be dated 260-261. The first string of events corresponds to the unrest around Regalianus’s short reign, which ended in 260 at Sirmium, when he was killed by a coalition of parts of his own army and the Roxolani. The battle of Serdica could as well be placed one year later, in 261, when Gallienus was fighting Macrinus in the area.

**GENERAL UNREST**

A rather significant number of inscriptions (around 20) cannot be dated with more accuracy than 100-200 years ranges. Nor the contexts of discovery, nor the text or other elements of the monuments can offer clues for a more accurate dating. Nonetheless, they help us see the larger picture and contribute to the image of a world in which military conflict on a larger or smaller scale was a constant.

Among them, worth mentioning are the monuments erected for civilians killed by enemies. Thus, at Singidunum,
we have a woman, Serenia Quarta,135 interfecit ab hoste. The monument cannot be dated with more accuracy than 2nd, 3rd C AD, and the text offers no additional details. Similarly, from Stobi, a monument dated sometimes between the 1st and the 3rd century AD mentions death caused ab hoste.136 With the same loose dating, an epitaph from Virunum commemorates an unnamed man,137 interfecit a barbaris. Killed by barbarians as well was a man from Neviodunum.138 As well from Pannonia Superior, but this time from Brigetio, comes an inscription from the first half of the 3rd century.139 richer in details than the previous ones; it is an epitaph for Titus quodam Dominus sive Passeris, a 26 years old merchant, killed by barbarians. Another example comes from Timacum Maior in Moesia Inferior, where an inscription mentions the fact that the son of Publius Māius Clementinus died in an ambush in Rome (in sacra urbe).140 Besides these, we also mention various other inscriptions:141 in central Greece an individual was killed in a war,142 another individual from Kallatis might have died in a war,143 while another one from Sexaginta Prista was occasus in pugna, his brother, a miles of the cohors I Lusitanorum elevating his funerary monument.144

CAPTIVITY AND RELEASE FROM CAPTIVITY

Even though the epigraphic sources do not provide many examples which illustrate the taking of hostages, the literary sources are more abundant especially for the first three centuries AD.145 Prisoners could have been not only those who were actively involved in battle, and whom fell into captivity (voluntarily by surrendering, or imposed), but also of those individuals who were not involved in battle (the civilian population), or whom fell prey to piracy.146 As such, for example during the time of Domitian (81-96 AD), Martial in his Epigrams makes reference to the Roman hostages taken following the Danubian wars (81-86 AD).147

The role of barbarians as life threatening sources is found in inscriptions not only in what concerns the military, but also the civilians, as such, at Kallatis a priest, Λυρήνως Φιλανθος Μάρκος,148 makes a dedication following his safe return home after the barbarians captured him (ληφθης ὑπὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, σωθὶς ἐλθὼν). A resembling life event occurred to an individual from Durostorum,150 whose personal name is unknown to us, and who was receptus ex captivitate barbarorum. Of course, the context in which the individual was taken as hostage was not necessarily the result of a ‘collective tragedy’. A similar fate could have also had Aurelius Ditusanus, a strator tribe from Sacidava whom the inscription records as dispersitus est in barbarico.151

COMPARATIVE TABLEAU

When mapping the conflicts, we notice on the one hand that the evidence is influenced by the significance of the area and its epigraphic habits; on the other hand, we notice the fact that most of the conflicts are attested, as in the case of the ‘personal tragedies’, on the one hand in border areas, and on the other hand in important cities at a local level. However, overall the inscriptions which make reference to more general conflicts which touched the lives of many are spread all over the Empire, providing a glimpse into the collective tragedies over three centuries.

From a chronological perspective, the evidence for the Greek part of the Empire can be dated, only in some cases with precision, while in most cases we have either a slight general dating (ex. the first century AD), or an extremely general dating (second – third century AD). Overall, most of the datable inscriptions from all of the provinces come from the second and third centuries AD. However, in some particular cases, as for example in what concerns Greece, before the Romans, most of the evidence comes from the Classic and Hellenistic periods, much richer in events, which are more widely attested in inscriptions; all these gave grounds in this case for a series of specific studies. For example, for Lakonia, P. Low152 has authored a study on the war-dead (ἐν πολέμωι), including an analysis of the literary and epigraphic sources, but also E. Zavvou.153

When comparing the personal and the collective tragedies we notice that only in around half of the cases does the evidence for a province comprise reference to both types of unfortunate events. Out of these Noricum and Pannonia Superior are extreme examples, in which collective tragedies are frequently attested, while personal tragedies lack. Both in relation with the epigraphic habit, and with the military dynamic is the very well representation of Achaea and Moesia Inferior. In general, when comparing the evidence of the two types of tragedies from the Greek part of the Empire we notice dramatism and poetic nuances in the texts (see for example the fragmentary epitaph from Rhamnous154), as well as a more „personal” tone in the information on the deceased (we could for example compare the dense and emotional epitaph of Τελεσφόρος Εὐκάρπου Μαλάριος,155 with the collective epitaph of Flavius Fuscinus and Flavius Romanus.156

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

We tend to believe that when we are dealing with war farther away, with a real expedition and not local border skirmishes, this fact is mentioned on the epitaph. Of course, we cannot consider this as a rule, but we can surely deal with it as a general truth. This hypothesis could be supported, for example, by the fact that there are so few mentions despite the high number of funerary monuments belonging to

150 AE 1901, 20 = ILjg 1274 = CIL III 14588 = IMS III 2 = ILS 8150.
151 See for example: SEG 40, 213.
152 IG IX,2, 1256.
153 ISM III 147.
154 AE 1904, 1257.
155 CIL III 11045.
156 CIL III 13405.
157 CIL III 11045.
158 AE 1934, 179 = IMS I 52.
159 AE 2012, 1528.
160 ILLPRON 116.
161 CIL III 14365.
162 CIL III 11045.
163 AE 1901, 20 = ILjg 1274 = CIL III 14588 = IMS III 2 = ILS 8150.
164 CIL III 13405.
165 See for example: SEG 40, 213.
166 IG IX,2, 1256.
167 ISM III 147.
168 AE 1904, 1257.
169 GUEYE 2013 analyses most of the literary sources.
170 GUEYE 2013, 32, fig. 1.
171 DUCREY 2019, 85.
172 GUEYE 2013, 278; for a survey of the literary sources see GUEYE 2013, table IX, 275-278.
173 ISM III 242 = IGB F 1.
174 CIL III 12 455 = AE 1895, 58 = ISM IV 111.
military men. However, in the case of the inscriptions from Achaea, we see that even local conflicts, following invasions (and probably due to this fact) are intimately narrated, as tales of courage (as for example the saving of the sacred objects of the Mysteries), or bad luck (as for example the unfortunate soldier who was wounded in the fight with the Costoboci, but died after returning home).

Correlated with the previous article on personal tragedies, as well as with the literary sources, we have an image of general unrest, agitation and violence which is the result of smaller and bigger conflicts, as well as attacks on behalf of lawless groups. As a general tendency, we notice that the Costoboci are the most commonly mentioned as invaders/attackers who inflicted death across the Empire.

As a form of epigraphic habit, we see that personal tragedies are outnumbered by the collective ones, not meaning necessarily that they were underrepresented, but certainly collective tragedies had more ‘changes’ to be written down in history.

**Table no. 1.** Epigraphic attestations of personal and collective tragedies across the Roman Empire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achaea</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpes Poeninae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquitania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baetica</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britannia</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacia Inferior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacia Superior</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalmatia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germania Inferior</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germania Superior</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispania Citerior</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispania Tarraconensis</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallia Lugdunensis</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallia Narbonensis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusitania</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moesia Inferior</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moesia Superior</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noricum</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pannonia Inferior</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pannonia Superior</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrace</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This work was supported by grants of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS - UEFISCDI, projects number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0021 and PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0255, within PNCDI III.
HOMÈRE

IORDANES

PAUSANIAS

PLUTARQUE

PTOLEMEUS

ZOSIMOS